Jog Maṅjhi says: Please, bring some molasses. When this is brought, they give the village headman and his deputy and after them all who are there. 584 [262]

The Jog Maṅjhi then says: Honoured friends, as you see, we are drying people; otherwise in olden times they were saying, the rich people dry paddy and husks, as for us, we are drying you friends; for this, honoured friends, be especially grieved. Then the visitors answer: The grieving ones, Sir, have all gone in advance, to Somae's narrow valley, to the fine sand they have gone to herd crocodiles. Thereupon they eat, and when this is done the Jog Maṅjhi again says: Listen, we have cut and cleared the threshing-floor, please, bring us again some parched and flattened rice. They bring this and give to all who are there. The Jog Maṅjhi then says: Please, bring the friends some water from the closet of the ancestors[7]. Then they give them each one brass-cup full of beer. They finish eating and drinking.

Now the Jog Maṅjhi calls out: You wife of the eldest son (if there is no such one, he will call some other girl), come here, pick up these leaf-plates and throw them away; bring some water in a loṭa, and pour some out in a brass-cup for all of us; we shall wash our hands and mouth. When they have washed themselves, they give each of them two leaf-cups of beer. They then come out from the house, enter the cow-shed[8] and sit down on bedsteads. The Jog Maṅjhi says: You, wife of the eldest son (if there is such a one there), please bring a hookah[9] and tobacco. She brings this, and they hand it over to the visitors. [515] [352] [276]

The Jog Maṅjhi now goes into the house and says to the father of the young man: Look here, Sir, what shall we give the visitors to eat with the rice? He answers: Some of you call my eldest son. They call him; he comes and says: Why have you called me, father? His father says to him in reply: I say, my son, bring the biggest castrated goat. He goes and brings it. [231]

The Jog Maṅjhi then says: Do bring some water in a loṭa. They bring this and pour the water on the head of the castrated goat; thereupon they kill it.

They ask the visitors to sit down and take food. When they have given everybody rice and curry, the Jog Maṅjhi says: As you see, Sirs, you are our friends; as for us, we are drying the friends; our ancestors of old, the rich ones, they would dry paddy and husks; as you see, we are drying you, our friends; let this especially grieve you. The visitors then reply: Yes, Sir, the grieving ones have gone to Somae's narrow valley, to the fine sand to herd crocodiles. Now they eat; when they have done, they wash and chew tobacco with lime.

Before they say good-bye to them, they again take them inside and give them beer. When they have drunk, they come out to be said good-bye to. They stand in a row, and while in this position they salute each other. Thereupon they see them off, and they go away.

[7] See Santal Dictionary s. v. bhitar. [8] During day-time, when no cattle is there, the cow-shed is commonly used for visitors. Bedsteads are placed here to sit down on. [9] See Santal Dictionary s. vv. huka and thamakuo. [343] [352]

[1] Cale Sta. Mus. — Bedding.

2: Skreferud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

V. HUSBAND AND WIFE IN THEIR OWN HOME

a. Setting up a household.

When husband and wife have been separated from his parents, they set up a household for themselves. They ask the village headman to get a house-site. They give him beer and food. The husband cuts trees and brings them from the forest; he cuts thatching grass in the forest, or buys it from somewhere. He fixes nine posts in the ground; thereupon he puts up three roof-beams; at three places he fixes double cross-beams, he fixes forty rafters, and in three places, at the top, in the middle, and at the bottom of these, he puts cross-laths. Thereupon he makes the rafter-framework and after this thatches. Then he makes a wattle and daub wall; having done this he puts up something to keep separate the place for the ancestors. The wife then kneads earth and smears this on; afterwards she fills the house inside with earth and plasters all smooth, and she makes a fire-place. The husband makes a door, of wood or of thin bamboo-slips. In the house they have two bedsteads, a wooden mortar and pestle, a winnowing-fan, baskets, brooms, earthenware vessels, big and small, ladles made of wood or of pumpkin-shell, kodali axe, chisel, adze, sickle, knife, plough-beam, yoke, plough and plough-share, flute, bow and arrows, battle-axe, sword and dancing-drum and kettle-drum. Poor people have no battle-axe, sword, dancing-drum, or kettle-drum.

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The sacred closet is for the ancestors to stay hidden in. Women belonging to other men are not permitted to go in there; and some people do not permit even their own daughters to go in there, that is, when they have been married. In this closet they make a small enclosure, and this is the real place for the ancestors to stay hidden in. In the closet money is also kept. On the backside of the house they have the homestead field; here they cultivate maize. And in front of the house towards the village street they have the court-yard. This they fence securely in on the four sides. They make two openings for going out and in, one is the homestead field door and one the village street door.

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The man builds a shed for the cows and bullocks and buffaloes, a fold for the goats and sheep and a sty for the pigs. The fowls and the cat stay in the house, and the dog stays somewhere on the verandah, to guard the house.

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of us well or not? They answer him: Father headman, we are well; when it is well, why should we say it is bad? The headman gives them beer without restriction; while they are drinking, the headman asks them: Well, shall we tie the bullocks to posts or not? They anwer him: Yes, Father, if you order it, we shall tie them to posts. The headman then says to the Jog Mañjhi and the Jog Paranik: The people of the country will come, you two be on the watch and receive them for us. They get up and away from there. Thereupon the Jog Mañjhi says to the young men of the village: Do dig holes for the posts. 796

To dig holes for posts is really a customary duty, in the village street outside the houses of the headman and of his deputy, of the Jog Mañjhi and the Jog Paranik and the Goḍet; outside these five houses the Jog Mañjhi makes them dig. The other village people themselves dig holes for the posts in the village street outside their respective houses and fix the posts in the ground, to tie the bullocks to these posts. The young men, who set to work, by the Jog Mañjhi's order dig holes and fix posts in the ground in the village street outside the five houses mentioned. They arrange ropes to tie the bullocks. The Jog Mañjhi gives the young men food and beer. The Jog Mañjhi orders them to pour out and to squeeze out beer. They do this; thereupon they are set free for the time. [231]

When it becomes the early middle of the afternoon, the cattle-herds bring the cattle; they take them into their respective cow-sheds. In the cattle-shed they smear oil on them. A woman of the house, the master's wife or any other woman, washes the herd-boy at the door of the cattle-shed and anoints him with oil. She takes him inside the house and gives him cakes and parched rice. They do this in every house.

Thereupon the Jog Mañjhi says to the young men of the village: Do bless the cattle and plait the straw bundles[1], commencing from the headman's house. And they bless the cattle in house after house, and one man goes along with them and plaits straw bundles. Thereupon they collect squeezed-out beer, one small pot from every house, to treat friends from the country. Thereupon they take the bullocks out to tie them to the posts. Country people also come together. The young men first tie the bullocks to the posts at the house of the village headman. When they have tied the bullocks to the posts, they lash them to make them butt. They drum the kettle-drum for them, blow flutes for them, three times they move up and down the whole village street, lashing them. Thereupon they stop and gather at the headman's house, and there also the country people come together. They all loose their own bullocks.

In the village headman's house they thereupon place bedsteads, wooden slabs to sit on, and stools before the country visitors. The Jog Mañjhi then says to the young men of the village: Please, give the visitors from the country beer, each two leaf-cups of poured-out beer and two leaf-cups squeezed-out beer, and give all the people each one handful of flattened and parched rice. They do this. Then they sing[2]:

[1] See Dictionary s. v. [illegible]. [2] In corrupt Bihari.

[illegible]

e. Becoming unfitted for use.

Becoming unfitted for use happens in two ways. One way is this: When somebody sets castrated animals aside for the Jom sim, and before they sacrifice them some venerable old man of their sept dies, then these castrated animals become unfit for being sacrificed; these castrated animals are not sacrificed, they only slaughter them. 231 782

The other is in connexion with the rights of daughters or sisters. When a man separates his own sons, or brothers set up separate households, sisters get one cow each, when their father is living; when the father dies without having given a cow to his daughters or sisters, and these girls afterwards ask for this right of theirs from their brothers, then the council people say: Why did you not ask for it while your father was living? Now your right has been cancelled; but the women who follow up their right say: Don't, Fathers, cancel my right; the man is dead; quite so, judgement has not died; this really is, that judgement has been overthrown. 428

And concerning any rights in connexion with marriage they say: Don't, Fathers, cancel my right; this is my right.

f. The sum total of the law of the rights of women.

When a man makes separate establishments for his sons, then he also gives to each of his daughters one cow or calf, or a sheep or a goat. When he gives this to married ones or to spinsters, he gives the same to all. And in this right of theirs, or, if their goats or sheep multiply, in this increase the brothers of a husband of theirs have no right, because the father of the girls has given them this of his own accord. When he made separate establishments for his sons, at that time the girl received them in the presence of her brothers, from her own father. At this very time the matter of father and brothers has been finally settled. But if sons or daughters of her brother herd them, they get wages. And if they multiply in the house of her husband, then the nephews or nieces of the girl will herd them. These she will also in the same way give wages, and if the two wish so, they may give a heifer or a bull calf to the children on both sides. But on both sides they have no right to get this. 428

If there are no cattle, then they will give to each one brass-cup. When selling this brass-cup they buy a calf or a goat for the money they get thereby, and when these multiply, in the same way the heirs on both sides have no right to get any of those either. A pig, or a goat, a sheep, a cow the woman herself may sell, and she will keep the money, and she may also use the money for her clothes and apparel. Such people have now and then, by giving a bullock or a cow with calf as salami, acquired rice and other land in a separate place, and somewhere they have even founded a village after having given salami. Formerly when the Paharias were landlords in this country, they very much appreciated pigs or castrated goats. They were great drunkards; they were eating anything along with liquor. They were easily and quickly beguiled by pigs and castrated goats.

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smile, "O, there are the "Bongas" (*evil-spirits, deities*)." Thus finishes the daily routine of their lives.

The annual round of their life is a string of agricultural activities, working as day-labourers when there is no work to do at home, tribal feasts at the Holy-grove of the village or at the house of the Headman or other villagers, ceremonial hunts as during the "Baha" (*Flower-festival*), dances enmasse during the tribal festivities or at moon-lit nights and fish-gathering on a quest of joy and food combined.

And in between, if there is any leisure time they spend it in gathering fruit, making nets and in occasional hunts to the neighbouring forests and indulge in the delights of the chase of their primitive semi-hunting life.

Santal Cottages

Typical Santal cottages almost invariably stand on both sides of a straggling "kulhi," (*village lane*) where pigs squeal and fowls flutter about.

Each cottage is a two or three-roomed affair. On the floor corn is strewn for being aired. The plinth made of mud, rises one to three cubits high, the average being a cubit and half. It is beautifully blackened with a dye made of burnt straw plastered with cow-dung. The walls of the houses are made of bamboos or "sal" logs and are generally plastered

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342 it was told, to the depredations of evil-spirits. And
556 even brick-built houses like those of the rich land-
177 owners of Orissa caught our attention at Tikari-
para, Mayurbhanj, with surrounding walls of brick that one cannot usually associate with Santal life,[1] except in their absence of windows.

342 Windows Santals will never have. "O, the
776 Boṅgas," will again be the answer if you question them on the point. The Santal dog, who snarls at
[231] the chance passer-by, and is treated and fed like a member of the family, keeps an all-night vigil. If
[574] you call for a Santal at mid-night, it may be he may greet you with an arrow, for he thinks that "Boṅgas" take human shapes and lure away men and women.

353 Santal walls are the beauty-spots of the hamlet. Here the inner artistic craving of the primitive tribe has displayed itself in a realm of phantasy. In some places, we saw the walls painted with a variety of colours, white, yellow, black, red and chocolate; sometimes with one colour and sometimes with alternate stripes, again with queer patches of triangles and rectangles. (See illustrations). Various pictures, associated with Santal life, sometimes greet your eyes. Here is a Brobdingnagian deity aiming a shaft at a

1 This was the house of Chandramohan Murmu of Tikaripara, Bamanghati, Mayurbhanj. Its dimensions were measured to be 50 by 20 cubits.

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bunch of "sal" flowers, there a village-group sitting at a feast of rice and rice-beer. We were also invited to examine some more wall-paintings, walls which were proud to bear representations of steam-engines and aero-planes, and marking our reluctance to be so near modernism, our Santal friends expressed profound surprise.

The yard is scrupulously clean, and, to translate a Bengali saying, "You might pick vermilion if some dropped upon it." There is sometimes the finish of a cement but generally everything is plastered over with mud and cow-dung. Jutting out into the lane are the pig-styes and poultry-yard. The room at the entrance is the "Gohal" (*cattle-shed*). Almost invariably a stench will repel one's olfactory nerves, but then one must not forget that the Santals like the Hindus almost worship the cows; and the first item in their annual Harvest Home is the "Gohal puja," when the cows are anointed with vermilion and adored as their best earthly possession. There, one will find the oil-press and the rice-husking "dheñki." In the houses of the more affluent, a separate outer house can be found which gives the combined service of a kitchen and poultry-yard. Drinking-water drawn from the neighbouring springs is stored in earthen pitchers, about two cubits and a half in height, and kept in a conspicuous place.

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boiled in water and mixed with salt and turmeric, serve as sauces in the Santal dinner.

We have already got some idea about the Santal use of "mohua" oil in cooking. This oil, they massage also over their bodies, but after and not before their daily ablution, as is the custom with some Hindus. Like the rest of the world, they delight in a smoke of tobacco. We have already noticed the preparation of the "pungi", the Santal cigarette, called also *chuti* in the Santal Parganas. This is, we were told, men's monopoly, the women smoking only occasionally. But raw tobacco, mixed with lime in the form of "khaini" (*Hindi*) is chewed frequently by both men and women as a perpetual stimulant.

No review of the material background of Santal life will be complete without a reference to their domestic animals. Cows, buffaloes, sheep and goats meet your eyes in the cattle-yard; pigs grunt, geese cackle and fowls flutter about mixed up with pigeons flying down from their improvised nests inside earthen pitchers suspended from roofs.

Drink

"Give me rice-beer, or give me death," may be the summary of a Santal's instinctive craving for

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Baṭèhi*n* hèralòṅ
Ḍaṇḍa ka bàsi ho;
Gòṭèhi*n* hèralio
Gàia jo yo re;
Gòṭèhi*n* hèralio
Gàia jo.

The sense of the above folk-song may thus be rendered in English:—

Who has created this world?
Who has created the cattle?
Ṭhàkur (God) has created this world.
Ṭhàkur has created the cattle.
The hawk created Kanu Gowala,
He used to feed cows in the east.
Well, my son! (Kanu) where have you lost your flute which you always keep in your loin?

Kanu replies:—

I have lost my flute in yonder field;
I have lost my cattle in yonder pasture.

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Thereafter, the Santals take a meal and assemble at the *Jabèrthan*, where one of the most interesting sports is witnessed. The village-elders sit. The cow-boys of the tribe are summoned before them and asked to make their cows walk on a particular spot on which eggs have been placed. The cow-boy, who can make his cow break the egg or even smell it, is called the "Lucky Boy" by the applause

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of the audience. The feet of the successful cow are then ceremonially washed.[1]

The second day is devoted to the preparation of food for the different tribal gods, in whose honour animals like fowls, goats and pigs are sacrificed. Ancestor-spirits are also worshipped and their memory honoured and offerings and libations made to them at home by heads of families. The evening is spent in community feasts on a large scale with drinks of rice-beer offered to the gods and thereafter drunk by the members of the tribe.

The climax of the ceremonials reaches with the worship of cows (*Gohal Puja*). When all are sleeping, young men of the tribe keep vigil and go from place to place to awaken the cows, beginning with the Headman's house, playing on pipes and kettle-drums.

The following is a song sung on the occasion:—

Gàini còlilo siribinda bònè ho,
Màhisini carae gaṅga para jo yo re,
Màhisini carae gaṅga para jo.

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1 E. G. Man, in his *Sonthalia and the Sonthals* (p. 57) in this connection refers to the Egyptian myth of the "Bull and the Egg." The ceremony consists in newly laid hen's eggs being placed on the village lane and oxen driven past, and the one who stoops to smell the egg is held in high estimation for the year. "I believe," says Man, "the Egyptian mythology states that the earth came out of an egg which the bull broke."

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Gàini awae adha berena ḍubayete,
Màhisini awae adha rata jo yo re,
Màhisini awae adha rata jo.

Kòn siñge debo telare sindura,
Kòn pithe debo dhubi dhana jo yo re,
Kòn pithe debo dhubi dhana jo.

The sense of the above may be rendered as follows:—

The cows have gone to Sree Brindaban.
The buffaloes are grazing on the bank of the Ganges, on the other side, look there!
The buffaloes are grazing on the banks of the Ganges, on the other side.
The cows are returning at sun-set.
The buffaloes return home at mid-night,
The buffaloes return home at mid-night.
On which horn shall I apply oil and vermilion?,
Oh! on whose back shall I place grass with paddy?,
On whose back shall I place grass with paddy?,

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On the other hand, the maidens form a batch. They deck their hair with flowers and entwine their arms with their sisters. Thus they march in a procession to the tribal Headman's (*Pròdhan*) house, where, with fresh paddy, grass and lamps, they

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sing special songs round the cattle and thus visit all the cow-sheds of the village. Cattle are anointed with oil and daubed with vermilion, and a share of rice-beer given to each.

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We give below a standard folk-song sung on the occasion :—

Hate lela arwa cal
Gocha lela pakal pan
Càli bela àmki devi
Gàiye cumbài.

Eka cumbài cumbài lagal
Dui cumbài barare
Pàri gela sirà barda
Akeka lo.

Kae barda kanda sè
Kae barda khèja sè
Dèbore putà
Rila malare pan.

Dhire calae dhire calae
Bàburè barada
Kaise tò kambe sindur.

It is very difficult to translate the above to bring out its sense. All that we gather is that it appears that the worshippers have taken sun-dried rice in their hands. The sun has gone down. The cows

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796 539 •23 are kissed. The horned bullock falls down. They are in a puzzle as to which bullock they will give the *pan* (perhaps water). Next they feel that the bullock is slowly going. How can vermilion be applied (while in motion) ?

On that night, the *kulhis* (village-lanes) resound with various other songs sung by women. The meaning of these orthodox songs is somewhat obscure. We give below a song sung by those who possess female-buffaloes in their cattle-shed : —

Tòkòerèn gàiko ho, gàiko borot' borot' ;
Tòkòerèn bitkil ho, bitkil ñàhum dàrum.

Phalnarèn gàiko, gàiko borot' borot'
Phalnarèn bitkil, bitkil ñàhum dàrum.

Bitkil jaṅga ho, dama domo,
Huhàṛ jaṅga ho, tilmàñ talmaṅ.

Neko dòko calaoen siñegòr bire,
Neko dòko calaoen manegòr bire.

Dotè amka ho, nàcur leko,
Dotè amka ho, bihur leko.

Siñègòr birerè kule gò menac,
Manègòr birerè tàrube hòpòn.

Neko dòko nàtiña car cur carèc'
Rehḍa hasa ho jarapè lòyòṅ.

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The bare idea of the above folk-song may thus be given in English:

Who has got so many cows which look bright and beautiful?
Who has got so many female buffaloes black and bulky?
So and so's cows look bright and beautiful.
So and so has female buffaloes black and bulky.
The legs of the female buffaloes are very plump,
But green pigeon's feet are very light and soft.
These buffaloes went to the forest of Siñ,
These green pigeons went to the forest of Man.[1]
Well, young men, go and bring them (female buffaloes) back from forests;
O, young men go and bring (them).

The young man replies:—

In the forest of Siñ, there is a lion;
In the Man forest there is a small tiger.
These buffaloes graze and eat this and that,
And drink saline water and mud from springs.

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An interesting feature of this day is the fixing of posts all over the village upto the Headman's house in the morning. After midday meals cows and buffaloes are tied to these posts with strings. The feet of these animals are then washed and their

1 There are frequent references to the forests of "Siñ" and "Man" in Santal legends.

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796 horns decorated with garlands and cakes made of
[231] treacle. The young sportsmen of the village now come in a body and begin poking these animals and dance round them, all the while trying to snatch away the cakes. This "War-dance" being over,
[526] the villagers assemble at the Headman's house and engage in a picturesque competition in playing with bamboo-staff and shields.

Next follows *Hako Katkòm*, meaning the day for catching fish and crabs. It is the religious duty of all Santals to go out hunting on this day and it they cannot find anything else, they must at least kill fish or crabs.

[574] Now the ceremonials draw to a close ; and on a special day called *Jale*, the members of the tribe visit from house to house and exchange greetings.

796 A whole week of festivities comes to a close
526 with *Bejha*, (to shoot at a target) a day of sports. There is a good deal of animation in the tribe and before a vast congregation *lathi* (bamboo-staff) play, shooting at a mark with arrows and measuring individual strength take place, those successful being cheered and conveyed to the Headman's house on the shoulders of their friends.

796 *Sobrae at Mayurbhanj*

In Mayurbhanj, the *Sobrae* is generally called as *Bandhna* or *Kali Puja*, and celebrated along with

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796 for a period in which offences are to be connived at, as there is bound to be a good deal of drunkenness.

[782] On the conclusion of the preliminary *puja* at about ten a.m., the rice, fowls and rice-beer already collected, are offered to *Maraṅ Buru* and other deities.

[793] Thereafter, these are cooked together by the villagers, while the *Naeke* (priest) prepares a separate dish with the heads of the fowls (because he is a pure and chaste person). Now, offering the dishes again to the gods like *Maraṅ Buru*, the *Naeke* leads the community feast and is followed by the tribe.

796 • 231 Towards evening, the cattle of the tribe are brought to the *Goth* and their horns rubbed with oil. They are then let loose near the spot where the tribe has eaten, and the man whose cow chances to eat the *sal*-leaf plate used by the *Naeke* (priest) is considered to be a very lucky one and endowed with the privilege of supplying a pot of *hàṇḍia* (rice-beer) for the next year's festival. He becomes the hero of the tribe, to be blest with good cattle and harvest, and is raised over the head and shown to the assembly. Eggs are also placed on *sal*-leaves; but cows are not made to walk upon them, as we saw in the Santal Parganas.

796 [533] [831] [786] [685] The nocturnal vigil at Mayurbhanj is practically the same as that during the night of *Gohal Puja*, the same songs are sung, but they add many of an erotic nature. But fruits and vegetables as gourds

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796 dances round the *Karam* branch. The conclusion
796 of the dance sees a tug-of-war between the youths
526 and maidens of the tribe, for the latter won't allow the branch to be taken away for immersion by the former; and this trial of strength can only be avoided if the lopped branch can be stolen away from the vigilant eyes of the other sex. This tug-of-war is a pure amusement. There is no hidden meaning behind the custom.

796 At midnight, the villagers take a nocturnal
• 23 round near cow-sheds singing songs with musical accompaniments, with the object of kissing the cattle and thus adoring them.

The third day is devoted to sports with the cattle. Early in the morning the members of the tribe assemble at the house of the Headman with their drums and other musical instruments and make *biras* (a stack of paddy coiled together in a circle) according to the number of cattle in the Headman's cattle-shed and tack them to their horns. They get a bit frightened and are let loose amidst the din of drums, and as they rush out, men shower on them rice-beer and women stone them with eggs. As the cattle run on pell-mell, the last one is caught by an enterprising Santal, and its feet are washed with a good deal of ceremony.

796 Next, a punch is made of the Headman's rice-
273 beer with those of the other cattle-owners, and drunk
769 after offering it to the ancestor-spirits.

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after offering it to the ancestor-spirits. Thus stimulated, the tribe indulges in a water-carnival, when fluids of sun-dried rice are showered by the men and women on one another, amidst a great hilarity, as they parade up and down the *kulhi* (village-lane).

The afternoon witnesses *Khuntau*, as seen in the Santal Parganas, when, mischievous cows and buffaloes are tied to posts and teased with treacle cakes. But an additional interest is provided at Mayurbhanj in the shape of a mask-dance when the Santals impersonate tigers, snakes and elephants.

The programme terminates on the fourth day after a tribal dance from house to house ; and thereafter, the paddy from the *biras* prepared to decorate the cattle is stored, and rice-beer brewed from it is reserved to be drunk on a later occasion.

Mòkòr (Sakrat[1] Mid-January.)

The Santals of Mayurbhanj observe a ceremony on the last day of *Pous* (mid-January) along with

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1 Dr. Campbell in his *Santali to English Dictionary*, while explaining *Sakrat Pòròb* says that it is a festival observed on the *last three days of the Hindu year*, (Italics are ours), making it, peasumably refer to an equivalent of Bengali *Chaitra Sankranti*. Most probably he is mistaken. Our version is also corroborated by Rev. Bodding who says, "Close upon Sohrae comes Säkrat which is held on the last day of the month of *Paus*." (Dt. Gazetteer, Santal Parganas, 1910, page 128).

B Mukherjea O, Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1952
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shot. They also take evidence as regards the first, second and third shots.

The rest of the meat is taken by the villagers of the man who had the first shot and shared among themselves. It is worthy of note that even the hunting dogs employed in the chase receive their shares equally with men. Generally, the meat that goes to X's share is carried by his villagers home. The head of the game shot is divided into two parts, the first going to X, the other to the villagers of X. The Headman of X's village gets the left hind leg (*donde*). This is also conveyed home by the villagers, who, in return, receive a pot of rice-beer, twelve seers of rice, five pieces of turmeric and some salt. It is customary for the men thus presented to cook a hotch-poteh with the head of the hunted animal previously received for a common meal.

[231]

In case an animal like a *Gayal* or *Sambar* (a species of deer like an elk) is hunted by, say ten or twelve men, custom lays it down that the first five hunters will only receive their shares.

It should be noted that if X's wife is pregnant, he will not get the head of the animal and it will go to the villagers to be shared by them. The *Dibri* gets a share of meat per each mouza of men who hunted the animals.

[843]

[793]

Another important feature deserves mention. It may be that in a *Deshua Sendra* there may be any

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3: Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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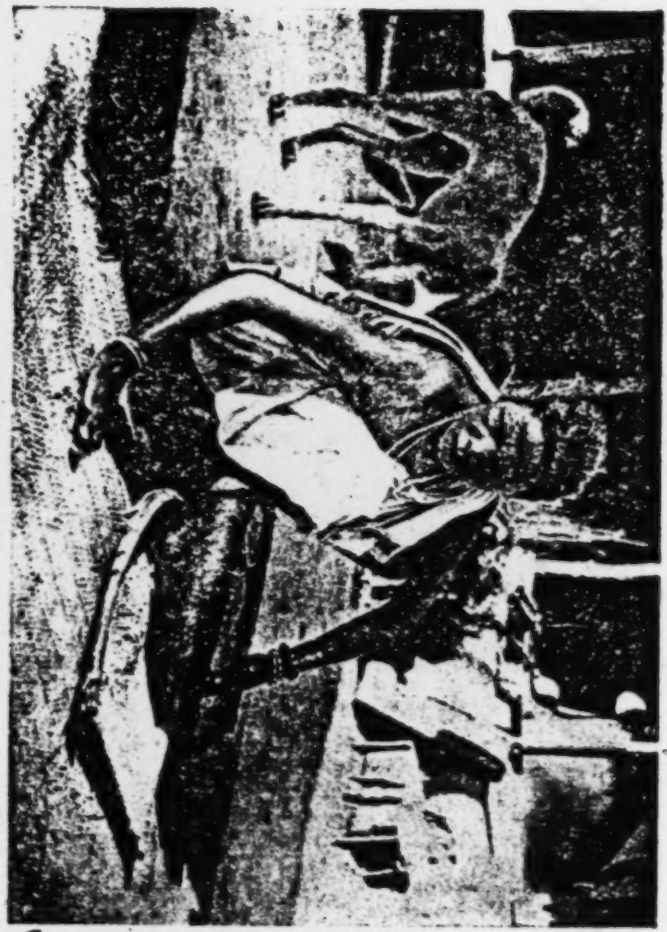

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Winnowing Corn

Photo : Tilak Bandopadhyay

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[End plate 7]

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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CHAPTER II

Material Culture of the Santal.

The Village : The Santal villages with their houses on both sides of the street are situated on the plains. These villages are not well fortified. In each village only one unpaved avenue can be found, the width of which is about twenty five to thirty feet and the length is equal to the length of the village. There are tall trees at intervals on both sides of the avenue which make the path shady. In a big village generally twenty to thirty houses can be seen and in a small village there are only ten to twelve houses. In each village a Majhisthan is built, where Kulidrupe[1] (Panchayat) takes place and taxes are collected by the head-man of the village, and there the Manjhi Haram (head-man) worships the Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Burhi. In almost every village a Jahersthan can be found which is nothing but a cluster of Sal (Shorea robusta) trees where the Santals worship their village deities. The water supply of the village is derived from a streamlet which runs nearby. The Santal villages are very neat and clean and all the villagers take particular care to keep it so, and scavenging is done by the pigs and dogs which help in keeping the village neat. As soon as the houses have all been erected and the village established, some trees such as mango, jack-fruit etc. are planted ; the Satals[2] have a belief that these trees bring prosperity. The Headman's house is generally built more or less in the centre of the village and close to the Majhisthan. The villages are generally known by their place names as Sunderpahari, Chandna, etc.

361 [363] 344 346 651 622 778 312 364 231 245 622 342 103

[1 Erratum: i.e., kulidrup. 2 Erratum: i.e., Santal. -- Analyst]

4: Biswas D, E-3,4 (1931-1945) 1956
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342 ventilation except a few holes high up on the wall. In front of the house the eaves of the roof are elongated which serves as a covered verandah. The floor of the house is a little raised above the ground, being filled up with earth. This is trampled down hard and made smooth with mud mixed with cowdung.

342 Every Santal house in which the head of the
778 family lives has a 'Bhitar'. This is a part of a room
769 partitioned by a low wall which runs out from the side wall some six to nine feet into the com-
[609] partment. It is a kind of stall, and is sacred to the ancestors. Here food is kept for the ancestors and no
[784] stranger is permitted inside. The married daughter of the house, who in her girlhood was allowed entry is now not permitted inside, because she now belongs to another family and might cause religious pollution.

343 There is a separate shed for cattle. Within this
231 shed in some houses special arrangement is made to keep pigs. In one corner of the cattle-shed two mud-walls about three feet in height are built, to form a small rectangular sty. Over it bamboo sticks and branches of trees are placed, so that pigs cannot escape by jumping. A hole is made in one of the walls and bamboo sticks are placed there in such a way that by raising these sticks the pigs can easily come out and enter. But in some villages in the Godda Damin are found the pig-sheds built outside the house. In this case the walls of about 5 feet and the roof are made of thatch.

342 Inside the house on the verandah the "Dhenk" 3
252 (rice-husker) is fixed and a mill-stone is kept. Except
351 during cold season, when the inside is warm, the
[407] Santals generally stay outside on the courtyard both day
1 [Erratum: this should read "'Dhenki'" . Cf. errata sheet, category 116, p. ix -- Analyst]

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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level the field as far as possible. With the help of plough the Santals plough the rice field several times before transplanting the rice seedlings. [243] [412] [407]

Transplantation :—In a rice field, during the months of May and June after making the earth loose they bring seeds in a basket and scatter them over the loose earth with the hand. Then the earth is again pressed down with the leveller and the seeds are thus buried in. [407] When the seedlings grow to a certain height they are then pulled out and transplanted two or three together in the prepared field. They transplant the seedlings about one foot apart and in rows. They have three kinds of transplanted paddy. The earliest varieties ripen in the month of September. The second one, which they transplant in high land, ripens in the month of October. The third variety becomes ripe between November and December and is transplanted in low land. In the Santal Paraganas the Santals have got another kind of crop which is done simply by sowing the paddy seeds in the prepared rice fields and which ripen in the month of August. The transplanting is generally done by the Santal women. [462]

Threshing :—When the crops grow properly and become ripe they cut them with sickle and carry them to a place which they clean with earth and cowdung. [412] There in the centre they keep one big stone, on which they strike the rice saplings. Sometimes they use bullocks for threshing. [231] A few bullocks, tied in a line, walk round and round on the spreading straw. With the above processes they separate the paddy from the stalk. Then with the winnowing fan they clean the paddy separating them from other impurities. [412]

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262 (3) Mug (Phaseolus Mungo Linn.).
(4) Musuri (Lens esculanta Moench.).

262 263 252 The Santals prepare curry with different vegetables which they collect from the jungle or they produce in their own kitchen garden. Potato is rarely used by them. From the jungle they collect certain edible roots, leaves and mushrooms, and with them they prepare curry. Pumpkins, sweet potato, brinjals, jhinga, ladies finger, beans, radishes, and onions are used by the Santals for curry.

262 The Santals eat various types of fruits, the most common are the followings :- jack fruit, guava, plantain, black berry, tamarind, papaw, etc.

The Santals relish animal food very much. They eat the meat of almost all birds and animals with the exception of tiger, leopard, horse, monkey, dog, mole, eagle, hawk, some types of frog, elephant and cat. They are very fond of the meat of pig, young crow, mouse, and hare.

231 They kill pigs in the following way:-

252 They let out their dogs to catch a pig which runs hither and thither on being frightened. They then shoot arrows at the pig. When it falls on the ground, they strike it on its head with a big stone. After it dies, they burn it in the fire, and when all the hair of its body is burnt, they cut it into pieces and cook it. 252 Birds are similarly treated to remove the feathers. 262 Fishes are eaten mostly as curry. Now coming in 262 contact with the Hindus of the neighbouring areas, the 177 Santals have ceased to eat meat of many animals.

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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273 brew beer by Maran Buru who came to them and told them he was their grand father.

276 **Smoking** :- The Santals are inveterate smokers. The indigenous method of smoking is to take some pieces of dried tobacco leaves, wrap them in a sal leaf, and smoke it like a cheroot. But now a days machine [178] made cigarettes have made their appearance. The manner in which tobacco is most commonly used, is by chewing dried tobacco with lime. Hookas (hubble bubble) have also been introduced among them.

231 **Domesticated Animals** :- Dog is the most important animal to the Santals. Every Santal keeps at least one dog. The chief object of keeping this animal is for hunting though no special breed of dog is kept. They keep cows for milk and oxen to draw ploughs. They sometimes eat their flesh. Buffaloes they keep for above mentioned purposes. Goats and sheep are kept for trade and for food. Pigs are kept by the Santals in large quantity exclusively for food, and these animals do most of the scavenging. They feed them and also let them off to wallow here and there. In the evening they keep these animals in a small room specially prepared for them within the room where they keep cows and buffaloes, a small door is kept which the owner opens every morning before dawn to let the pigs out. Cats are kept by the Santals exclusively to catch rats. Fowls and pigeons increase and multiply apparently without any care being taken of them. They are also scavengers of the village. The Santals keep them to eat and to sacrifice them to their Bongas.

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CHAPTER 2

THE SANTAL AND HIS NEIGHBOURS

WHATEVER difficulty there may be for others, the Santals make a clear distinction between themselves and Hindus, whom they call *Deko*. The basis of distinction is race rather than religion. The prevailing Indian identification of race with religion has caused some confusion in their minds, but the fact that about 50 per cent. of Santals were returned in 1931 as Hindus and most of the remainder as followers of tribal religion indicated the heightened political consciousness of the enumerators more than any real division within the tribe. In many areas the returns depended entirely on the views of the enumerator and his reading of the issues at stake. The census gave rise to discussions in Santal villages, during the course of which one Santal said: "I am a Santal; I can become a Christian or a Moslem, but I cannot become a *Deko*." When speaking among themselves the Santals usually refer to Hindus as *Deko pusi*. *Pusi* in Santali means a cat, and the term is usually reserved for the higher Hindu castes. An old man explained it thus: "The *Deko* are very greedy and cunning, and that is why they are called *pusi*. Whenever a cat sees that someone else has milk, curds, fish or any bits of food, he roams around with his 'mew-mew', and as soon as he sees an opportunity he pounces on the food and finishes it off. The *Deko* go round like that, looking out for opportunities. They make friends with the Santals, give them beer and spirits to drink, and deceive them when they are drunk—for the Santals have no sense; they are like sheep. They will go wherever a *Deko* wishes them to go, for they do not have a good command of the *Deko* language." In this description many elements in the attitude adopted towards the *Deko* find expression. The Santal feels superior and gives free rein to his contempt; at the same time he has good reason to be afraid, and he accords a grudging admiration to the cleverness of the *Deko*. There is even a certain good-humoured acceptance of the situation in which the Santal finds himself, for cats are found in every Santal home, and they are valued for their uses, though not regarded with great affection.

Santals are not free from that common fallacy of mankind which looks upon one's own kind as superior to all others and the rest of the world as "queer". *Deko* smell different, and one particular caste smells more than others. Some day, they feel,

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439 [437] women had no notion of the market price of their resin and were quite content to be paid in this way. The same man had been dealing with that village for many years, and he must have made tremendous profits. Furthermore, on this particular occasion my companion, who was himself a sharp-witted *Deko*, soon realized that the scales were heavily tipped in the trader's favour. On this being pointed out, the latter decamped before his customers were aware of the reason for his haste. One finds 427 also that it is, or has been until very recently, customary for the cultivator in Bengal to pay sums of money in excess of the legal rent to his landlord. The Santal is one of the worst sufferers from this practice, and he continues to pay more than he should for the sake of peace, even when he has been made aware of the fact.

648 668 Santals have not been caught up into the political activities of the last thirty years, for the Congress or nationalist movement is represented locally by those whom they regard as their worst enemies. They have shared some of the excitement engendered during periods of Mass Civil Disobedience, though their own contribution is liable to express itself in unorthodox forms. During the first such movement, in 1920-21, word spread that Gandhi rule had begun and it was Gandhi's order to [231] boycott everything white-coloured. In some places Santals slaughtered large numbers of their poultry in consequence, and in one or two instances even goats and sheep were slain. Their political education has advanced since, and the disillusion which followed their "sacrifice" ensured that there would be no repetition of such tactics. The next great Disobedience movement, in 1930, made more impression largely because on that occasion the Congress programme stressed the boycott of the licensed liquor shops. The Santals welcomed this aspect of the programme, not from any zeal for temperance, but because they soon came to see from experience that the government staff available for enforcing the excise laws was hopelessly inadequate to its task. The practice of illicit distilling, which [273] had previously been held in check by respect for the law, became widespread. Later the extension of the franchise under the Government of India Act of 1935 has shown them that their vote has power. Some of the more politically conscious, infected by the communal situation and influenced by the demand for a separate aboriginal province in Bihar, consider it a grievance that Santals are counted among the "Scheduled castes" on the electoral roll, and think they should be granted separate representation.

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and legends of Hinduism. The linguistic evidence shows how their material culture has been vitally affected and has some bearing on the more elusive realm of thought and belief. The grammatical structure of Santali has little in common with that of the Indo-Aryan tongues. It is an agglutinative and not an inflectional language. There have, however, been large and extensive borrowings of words. An instructive example can be taken from their method of husking rice. The term *ḍhinki*, used for a foot-pedal rice husker, has been borrowed from Bengali, and a *ḍhinki* is found in almost every home. The rice that is husked at the time of making sacrifices must be prepared in the home of the village priest, and in its preparation the use of the older and more primitive *ukhuṛ* is obligatory. This is a wooden mortar in which the rice is husked by hand with a wooden pestle, or *tok*. Both these words are Austro-Asiatic in origin. It is likely that when the household adopted the new method of husking rice the tribe did not change over from the old method of husking the sacred rice for fear of a loss in efficacy. One reason given is that as the *ḍhinki* is operated by the foot, rice husked in the *ḍhinki* is unclean and so unfit for offering to the spirits. It may be that the association of a mortar and pestle with sexual symbolism enhanced its magical value. The symbolism in this case is familiar to the Santal mind, for one way of expressing differences of sex is to refer to boys as "pestles" and to girls as "mortars". The *ukhuṛ* has to be used by the medicine man in preparing remedies; it is also used at marriages, when the feet of the bridegroom's party are washed over an *ukhuṛ*, and an *ukhuṛ* filled with water is required during the death ceremonies. In Bengal the rice which forms the daily food of the people is boiled before husking, and the Santals follow the same method in preparing it; but the rice used in sacrifices, *adwa caole*, is never so treated, being dried in the sun.

Among their domestic animals, the fowl, the dog and the goat have non-Bengali names, while the names for pigeons, sheep, pigs and, most important of all, their cattle are borrowed. Fowls, goats and pigs are all used in their sacrifices. In the realm of wild life the Santal has found little need to borrow a vocabulary from his neighbours. Wild animals, birds, trees and shrubs, many fish and insects, also snakes, have Santali names. The same is true of most of the weapons used in hunting. Although the term for paddy is Santal, the names of all the implements now used in rice cultivation and the terms for the

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of the opposite sex. On the first night the young people go through the village conducting the ceremony known as "waking the cattle". There is much drumming and dancing outside each of the cowsheds, and the cattle are feasted and decorated; small white circles made of flour are painted on their hides, vermilion is placed on their horns and heads. When all the cattle in the village have been "wakened", the young men go round once more for the "blessing" of the cattle. They are garlanded and fed with sweetmeats, and the blessing is pronounced as a hope that they will be protected from the dangers of disease and witchcraft, from thieves and the depredations of wild animals during the coming year. This "blessing" is pronounced by the women.

Other ceremonies are performed on the following days. The whole celebration may last either for three or for five days. At one time during the festival the young men of the village lock the bailiff in his home, and he is not allowed to come out until he has promised to treat them all to a drink of beer. During the second day of the festival the sub-clans perform the sacrifices to their *abge* spirits. These sacrifices are also preceded by ceremonial bathing on the part of the members of the households concerned, and the men take to the waterside their hunting implements, bows and arrows, axes and spears. The head of the house officiates, and the sacrificial animals are set apart in the same way as for the village sacrifices, having vermilion in oil placed on their heads, their shoulders and their hoofs. The flesh of the animals is, however, cooked separately from the rice with which it is eaten. On the second day also the cattle are baited. A bull is tied to a post, and the group of men who gather round it begin to infuriate the beast by persistent drumming. One or two of the men at a time, holding before them the skin of a dead animal, engage in mock combat with the bull, leaping at it and inciting it to plunge at them with its horns. The pastime continues for several hours and sometimes results in accidents. It is a happy season for the herdboys; they receive presents of cloth and are well fed by their masters. On the last night of the festival the unmarried men and girls sleep at the house of the *jogmāṇjhi* in token of the fact that their period of licence is at an end.

The remaining festivals of the Santal year do not make the same stir throughout the countryside. *Mokor* is the name used in the area by Santals and non-Santals alike for the festival which takes place in mid-January. In some places it is called